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RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

THE economic status of women in industry has aroused much interest during the past few years. The studies of the subject which have resulted will do much toward aiding in the solution of the many perplexing questions connected with women's wages, technical efficiency, and working conditions, and the special legislation which should be adopted to secure the greatest social benefit. The publications with which the present review deals¹ supplement

¹ *Women in Industry: A Study in American Economic History.* By Edith Abbott. With an introductory note by Sophonisba P. Breckinridge. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 1910, pp. xxii, 409.)

Wage-Earning Women. By Annie Marion MacLean. With an Introduction by Grace H. Dodge. The Citizens' Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology, edited by Richard T. Ely. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1910, pp. xv, 202. \$1.25 net.)

Women and the Trades. By Elizabeth Beardsley Butler. Russell Sage Foundation Publication. (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1909, pp. 440.)

Women's Trade Union Movement in Great Britain. By Katherine Graves Busbey. Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, July, 1909.

The Economic Position of Women. A symposium by eighteen contributors, consisting of studies on the history of women's work in the United States, problems of women in industry, social action, and a bibliography of books in the English language on women in industry. Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science for October, 1910. (New York: Columbia University, pp. 193.)

Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States. In nineteen volumes. Prepared under the direction of Chas. P. Neill, Commissioner of Labor. (Washington, 1910.) — The first three volumes are being distributed. Volumes IV to XII are in type and are issuing from the printing office as rapidly as the work can be handled. The titles of volumes I to XII are as follows: —

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| Volume | I. — Cotton Textile Industry, pp. 1044. |
| " | II. — The Clothing Industry, pp. 878. |
| " | III. — The Glass Industry, pp. 970. |
| " | IV. — The Silk Industry. |
| " | V. — Wage-Earning Women in Stores and Factories. |
| " | VI. — The Beginnings of Child Labor Legislation in Certain States:
A Comparative Study. |
| " | VII. — Conditions under which Children Leave School to go to Work. |
| " | VIII. — Juvenile Delinquency and its Relation to Employment. |
| " | IX. — History of Women in Industry in the United States. |
| " | X. — History of Women in Trade Unions. |
| " | XI. — Employment of Women in Metal Trades. |
| " | XII. — Employment of Women in Laundries. |

The most important of the remaining volumes will treat of the Relation of Occupation and Criminality of Women, Causes of Death among Woman and Child Cotton Mill Operatives, and Employment of Women and Infant Mortality.

each other admirably. Miss Edith Abbott's *Women in Industry* is a study of "the history and statistics of the employment of women in America" from colonial times to the present; Miss Elizabeth B. Butler's *Women and the Trades* presents the findings of the Pittsburgh Survey in regard to the women employed for wages in mercantile and manufacturing establishments of Pittsburgh; Miss Annie M. MacLean's *Wage-Earning Women*, undertaken at the instance of the Young Women's Christian Association, deals with the conditions of women's work in various industries and in various parts of the United States, giving especial attention to welfare and betterment work; the first three volumes of the Bureau of Labor's *Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States* are exhaustive inquiries into the cotton textile, the men's ready-made clothing and the glass industries; Katherine G. Busbey's study in the Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor for July, 1909, deals with the history and present status of *The Women's Trade Union Movement in Great Britain*; and the Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science of New York City for October, 1910, contain a symposium on the numerous topics connected with *The Economic Position of Women*.

Women in Industry is a careful and valuable study in economic history. Miss Abbott shows conclusively "that women have been from the beginning of our history an important factor in American industry" (p. 317). Both the facts of industrial history and the available statistics go to show that there has been no "woman's invasion." The result of Miss Abbott's statistical inquiry "was to show that, while the present tendency was toward an increase in gainful employment among women, that increase had been only normal, considering the rate of increase in the population, in the group of industrial occupations designated in the census as 'manufacturing and mechanical pursuits,' while there had been a disproportionately large increase only in the occupational group 'trade and transportation'" (p. xiii).

Miss Abbott considers separately the history of the five industries which employ the largest numbers of women, *i. e.* textiles, clothing, tobacco and cigars, boots and shoes, and printing and publishing.

It is a more or less common impression that working conditions are much worse now than they were seventy-five or a hundred years ago. For instance, Miss MacLean says¹ that "the semi-idyllic conditions of the early New England cotton mill have given way to a system brutalized by greed and the exigencies of modern industry." Miss Abbott presents abundant data, however, to support her conclusion that "conditions of work in the cotton mills of the first half of the nineteenth century were, in fact, far from being as superior as the early body of operatives" (p. 125). The mills were very unsanitary and badly constructed, the working day was notoriously long, being from 12 to 14 hours, and the wages were low. In Fall River the working day began at 5 A.M. and did not end until 7.30 P.M. Of 284 woman employees in the Waltham Mills in 1821 only one received over \$4 a week, while 218 received under \$3 (p. 278). The reason that the factories of the present impress the visitor less favorably than those of fifty or seventy years ago is because of "substitution of immigrant operatives for the educated New England women who first filled the mills" (p. 146). Miss Abbott finds that in the manufacture of cotton goods, which is the most important woman's industry, "the women are being slowly displaced by men" (p. 104) and that "cotton manufacture now employs a relatively smaller proportion of the total number of women in the country than formerly" (p. 105).

The boot and shoe industry, unlike the cotton industry, has not always employed women. In colonial times it was purely a man's employment, but during the first half of the nineteenth century women became an important factor, and since the introduction of modern machinery woman's work has become increasingly important. Immigrant labor

¹ *Wage-Earning Women*, p. 11.

has not replaced native labor in this industry as it has in cotton textiles. The reasons given by Miss Abbott are that the work is more skilled, that the wages are higher, and that America has been a pioneer and has therefore been compelled to educate its own labor force. In the cigar-making industry, the introduction of machinery and mechanical devices has led to such a great increase in the number of women employed as "to indicate its tendency to develop into a 'women's industry'" (p. 186). An unusually large percentage of foreign-born and married women are employed. In the clothing trades Miss Abbott finds an opposite tendency in the employment of women. "The tendency of the last quarter century in the industry has been toward an increase in the proportion of men and a corresponding decrease in the proportion of women employed" (p. 231). The invasion of Russian Jews into the industry is given as the chief reason for this decrease. "The clothing industry has been more affected than any other trade in this country by successive waves of immigration" (p. 230).

Altho the work of the printing trades has been characterized as being "peculiarly women's work" and altho there were 37,000 women employed in the printing trades in 1905, "yet printing has never been a trade which women have made their own" (p. 250). This has probably been due to the policy of the printers' union in combating the entrance of women into the trade. In 1872 the union adopted the policy of "admitting women to full membership in local unions and demanding for their labor the same price paid to men" (p. 254). Since women "are not as efficient as men and at present there is no direct path of efficiency open to them" (p. 260), this policy means that men printers are employed in preference to women at the union scale. The union policy was adopted "to protect the wage scale, not to encourage women to enter the trade" (p. 260).

As to the relation between wages received by men and by women Miss Abbott points out "that the median rates

given in the Dewey report show that in 'all industries' the median rate for women is fifty-three per cent of the rate for men; that in the tables which have been given for the different industries, the women's median wage is uniformly lower than the men's, varying, in fact, from one-third in the printing trade to approximately three-fourths (seventy per cent) in the cotton industry" (p. 312). However, as Miss Abbott truly says, the wages of men and of women are not really comparable. Her study of the cotton, boots and shoes, men's clothing, cigar-making, and printing industries shows that women are doing less skilled work than men. Miss Abbott subscribes to Mr. Webb's theory "that the woman is poorly paid, in part at least, because she is inefficient and is doing work which is less skilled than that done by men." This theory receives striking confirmation by the Bureau of Labor *Report*, to be considered later.

Women and the Trades is a study of the working conditions in the industries and trades of Pittsburgh which employ women. Each of 448 shops and factories was visited and data were secured from employers, employees, and other persons familiar with the trade. The conditions in each trade and industry are discussed separately. Miss Butler gives an interesting picture of the conditions of employment of women in this great non-union industrial center.

The wage statistics collected are illuminating. A summary of the *rates* of wages received by 22,185 women in twenty-seven different trades (p. 338) shows that 62 per cent receive less than \$7 per week, 21 per cent from \$7 to \$7.99, and 17 per cent receive \$8 or over. Of the 7540 women in mercantile employment, 73 per cent receive less than \$7 per week. Miss Butler says that not one of the working women or others interviewed "was willing to consider \$6 a living wage. They agreed that the minimum below which a working girl cannot live decently and be self-supporting in Pittsburgh is \$7 a week" (p. 346). When we consider that the figures quoted are rates and not earnings, that many of the occupations are seasonal, and that

nearly all have their dull seasons lasting several weeks, we can appreciate something of the economic pressure felt by these working girls. The stock reason of the employer for the payment of such low wages is that the girls depend upon their families for support. Miss Butler quotes a box manufacturer who says, "We try to employ girls who are members of families for we don't pay the girls a living wage in this trade" (p. 346). Again, she found that "it is assumed that shop girls are only partly self-supporting and need only work for pin-money" (p. 346). No direct evidence was taken in Pittsburgh as to the percentage of woman workers who depend upon families for part of their support but the indirect evidence indicates that it is almost negligible. The direct evidence obtained by Miss MacLean (quoted later), and the data given on family conditions and income in the *Bureau of Labor Report*, substantiate this conclusion. The social disaster to which the pin-money theory often leads is illustrated by the following case, one of several cited by Miss Butler: "Emma — was employed in a waist department at \$5 a week. She had no friends in the city, but sent money home to her people and paid board. At the end of six months she became an occasional prostitute; after a year was discharged by the firm" (p. 306).

Payment by the piece is the rule in Pittsburgh factories. Numerous instances are given where the piece rate was cut after the girls had reached their maximum speed and had secured earnings approximating \$1.50 a day (pp. 218 and 263). Much evidence of over-speeding is given. A manager of a large stogy factory holds that in his industry "No girl can keep up her pace more than six years" (p. 96). Miss Butler concludes that the stogy industry "is taking young, undeveloped girls, lifting their speed to the highest pitch and wearing them out" (p. 96). In telephone work "the life of an operator" was given by the managers to be from eighteen to twenty months in one company and fifteen months in the other (p. 291). It would seem that under the present industrial system the union is the only effective means of raising wages and eliminating over-speeding.

A ten-hour working day is the rule. Over-time and night work are common in many industries, such as laundry work, canning, and confectionery. The conditions surrounding workers in laundries, bakeries, the garment trades, lacquering of metal, etc., were found to be unhygienic and unsanitary in many instances. The favorable conditions in certain factories showed that work need not be carried on in a manner unhealthful to the employees. In many factories the machinery is not properly guarded and the inevitable accidents happen (p. 234). It is evident that Pittsburgh needs more stringent government supervision of factories and employer's liability laws.

Miss Butler finds that women working in the same trades as men earn about half the wages. However, her analysis of the work of the two sexes leads her to agree with Miss Abbott "that women and men tend to separate into non-competing groups. They rarely work together on the same wage level, or at identical work."

The data upon which *Wage-Earning Women* is based were collected by forty volunteer investigators under the direction of Miss MacLean. "The investigation dealt with women in widely scattered regions from New York City to the Pacific coast, including typical mill towns in New England and New Jersey, the mining regions of Pennsylvania, the great industries of Chicago, certain small cities of Michigan, and the great Middle West with developing manufacturing interests, and the seasonal work of picking hops in Oregon, and picking, drying, packing, and canning fruit in California" (p. 3). The study is valuable, therefore, chiefly for its snap-shot pictures of women at work and for the incidental information which was not secured by the Labor Bureau investigation.

The data gathered in New York City and New Jersey indicate that the typical working girl is unmarried, is about 20 years old, earns at a rate not over \$7 a week, and lives at home but pays board or contributes to the family support. A summary of the results for New York City and New Jersey follows:—

NEW YORK CITY

1476 working women were canvassed.

45% earn less than \$7 a week

91% are single

79% are under 25 years of age

88% live at home

95% of those living at home contribute to family support.

NEW JERSEY

824 workers in the silk mills and potteries of four cities were canvassed.

47% earned less than \$7 a week

78% are under 25 years of age

87% live at home

92% of those living at home contribute to family support

Only 22 paid nothing for board at home.

It will be noticed that 45% in New York and 47% in New Jersey were reported to "earn less than \$7 a week." These "earnings" are, apparently, "rates of pay." The schedules used by the canvassers asked for the "average wage." Such a question leads to inexact answers and is contrary to good statistical practice.

In the fruit industries of California it was said to be common for mothers with young babies to continue working in order to take advantage of the busy season. "A seeder was found, who had a baby just three days old. Now and then the young mother, hot and excited, stopped long enough to nurse the baby when it was brought to her" (p. 126). The injurious social effects of work under such conditions need only be stated in order to be recognized.

The first three volumes issued by the Bureau of Labor on *Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States* set a very high standard of excellence for the series, which is to be completed in nineteen volumes. The investigation

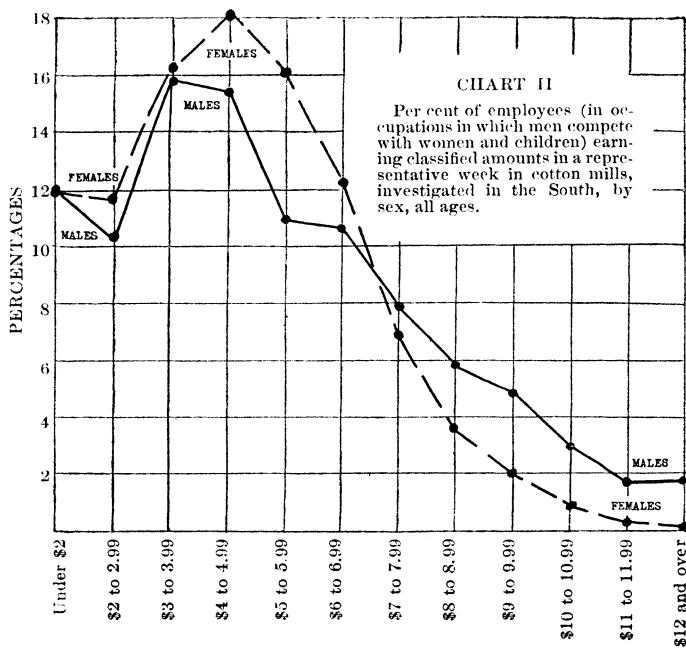
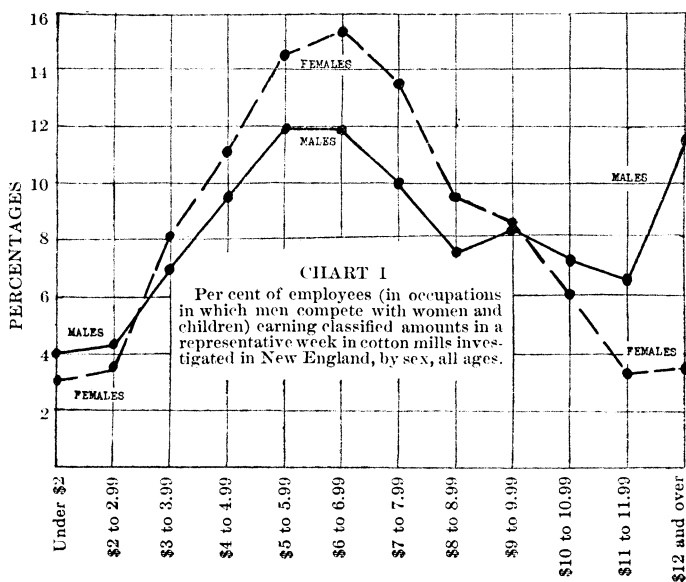
of the cotton industry covered 32% of the total number of operatives of four states in New England and six states in the South. These states had, in 1908, 85.8 per cent of the spindles of the entire country. The investigation of the men's ready-made clothing industry covered 29.7% of the employees in the five cities leading in the manufacture, namely, New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Rochester. These cities manufacture 68.3% of the total value of men's ready-made clothing made in the United States. In the glass industry three-fourths of the factories in operation, employing 70% of all women and child glass workers in the United States, were included in the study.

The investigations were carried on by special agents who visited the various establishments and interviewed the employees. The earnings and hours of work of each employer were obtained from the pay rolls. Information was also obtained concerning the age, conjugal condition, nativity, and race of a large number of workers. Care was taken to verify the ages of the younger children employed. Detailed information was obtained in regard to the living conditions of over two thousand families in each industry. General tables give the number and conjugal condition of employees by years of age, or age group, classified weekly earnings in dollar groups by age and sex, family income with source of same, literacy and school attendance, and the economic condition of families having children or woman members at work. An intimate picture is drawn of each industry. Data are presented of a kind hitherto not available, such as that on the relation between age and wage. The investigations seem to have been as careful as they were extensive, and tho the tables of the various volumes are not quite comparable, the text is well written and arranged. In the following I will limit myself to consideration of some of the important results bearing on the conditions of woman workers.

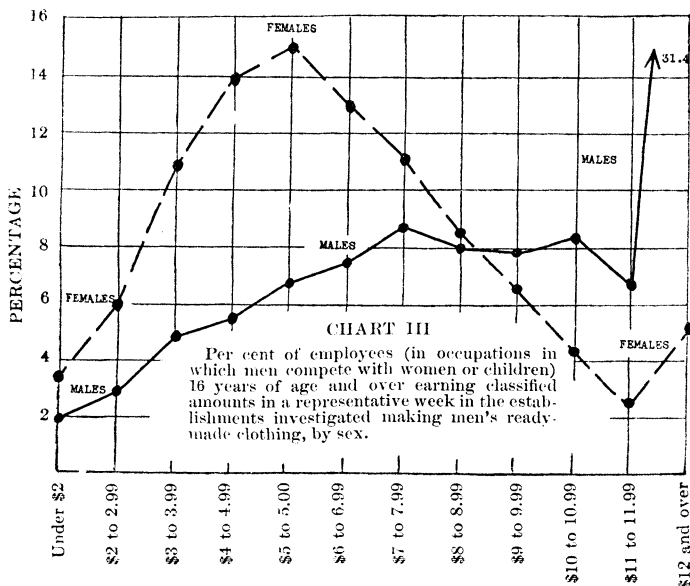
In the cotton textile industry the report notes that there has been a displacement of women by men and that "the period of greatest increase in the total number of employees

in the cotton industry marked the greatest fall in the proportion of women. . . . These facts suggest that the industry has developed so rapidly, particularly between 1890 and 1900, that women could not be obtained in sufficient number to fill the demand for new employees . . .” (pp. 32, 33). The history of the industry in the South supports this theory. In the men’s ready-made clothing industry the unsatisfactory statistics available indicate that women have been displaced by men, especially during the period of the development of the shop system, extreme division of labor, and the introduction of power machines. In hand work “only the inferior and more poorly paid work was left to women” (p. 495). In the glass industry there was a marked increase in the number of women employed during the period 1880–1900, but the census of 1905 showed a slight decrease. At present women over 16 constitute but 6% of the total number of employees in the industry. The differences between the wages paid male and female workers in the cotton and ready-made clothing industries are evident from Charts I, II, and III.¹ Only those occupations are taken in which men and women compete. In each case wage groups are marked off on the horizontal and the percentages of males or females earning the wages indicated appear as ordinates. In each graph the sum of the ordinates equals 100%. The average number of hours worked by the employees in each of the lowest two or three groups was considerably below the normal. The median wage for females in New England cotton mills is in the group \$6 to \$6.99, for males in the group \$7 to \$7.99. In southern cotton mills the median for both males and females comes in the group \$4 to \$4.99. Considering only operatives 16 years and over in New England mills the median weekly earnings for 6492 males is computed to be \$7.58, and the median weekly earnings for 13,744 females is computed to be \$6.78. Women’s earnings are, therefore, nearly 90% of men’s earnings in competing occupations in cotton mills. Including only those 21 years and over the medians are

¹ The charts have been prepared by the reviewer; they are not in the *Report*.

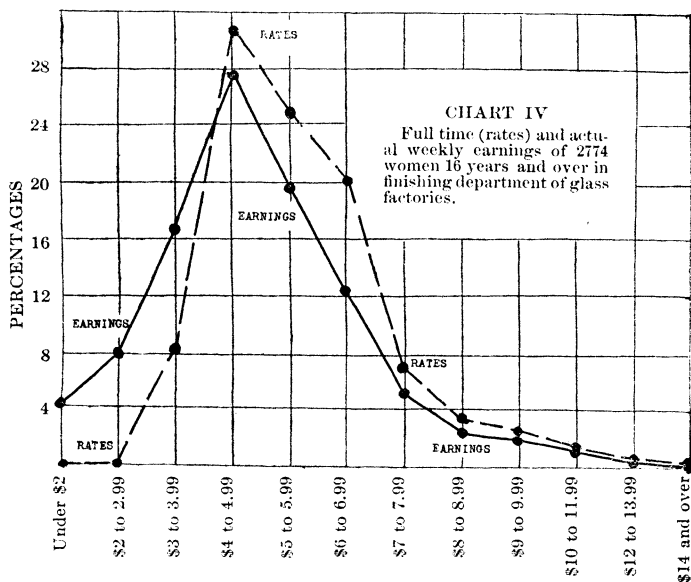


in the following groups: \$8 to \$8.99 for men and \$7 to \$7.99 for women in New England, and \$6 to \$6.99 for men and \$5 to \$5.99 for women in the South.



The earnings of men and of women in the clothing industry are not quite comparable because "certain occupations which are left entirely to women in some cities are almost entirely monopolized by men in other cities" (p. 123). Chart III shows the strikingly different wage curves for the two sexes. Median weekly earnings of men are from \$3 to \$5 more (depending on the city) than they are for women. The reason given for this great difference is that "most of the women have left the shop before the age when experience and skill permit the highest earnings" (p. 147). "Taking conditions most favorable to the labor force — steady work and a year of high industrial activity — the maximum yearly earnings for women 16 years of age and over in Chicago are found to average a little over \$8 per week and in Philadelphia about \$6 per week" (p. 172).

Chart IV gives the percentages of women receiving the indicated actual earnings and rates, in the finishing department of glass factories. There are no comparable figures for males, since few men compete with women in this department. The median of the actual earnings is in the group \$4 to \$4.99; the median of the rates is in the group \$5 to \$5.99. Eighty-four per cent of the women receive rates less than \$7 per week.



Examination of the wage data classified according to age of the employees shows that there are striking age differences between the two sexes. In the cotton industry female employees 16 to 20 years of age "constituted 30.8 per cent of all females in New England and 34.8 per cent of all in the South" (p. 44). The corresponding figures for males are 26.4 per cent in New England and 21.7 per cent in the South. Statistics furnished by the Massachusetts Bureau show that 50.3 per cent of the female cotton operatives in the state are in the age group, "16 and less than 25 years."

Comparative figures for males are not given. In the ready-made clothing industry out of 11,685 female workers 52.1% were under 21 years, while of 5812 male workers only 23.7% were under 21 years of age (p. 36). This great difference in ages, with its consequent difference in experience and skill, goes far to explain the difference in wages received by the two sexes. In New England cotton mills the percentages of males and of females according to age earning less than \$8 per week are about the same until we reach the group "21 and over" when they are 43.2 and 60.8, respectively. In the South the percentages of males and of females, by age, earning less than \$6 per week differ very little from each other until we reach the group "18 to 20 years" when they are 55.0 and 72.5, respectively. In the ready-made clothing industry the great difference in earnings, as shown by Chart III, is likewise to be explained by the fact that "most of the women have left the shop before the age when experience and skill permit the highest earnings" (p. 147).

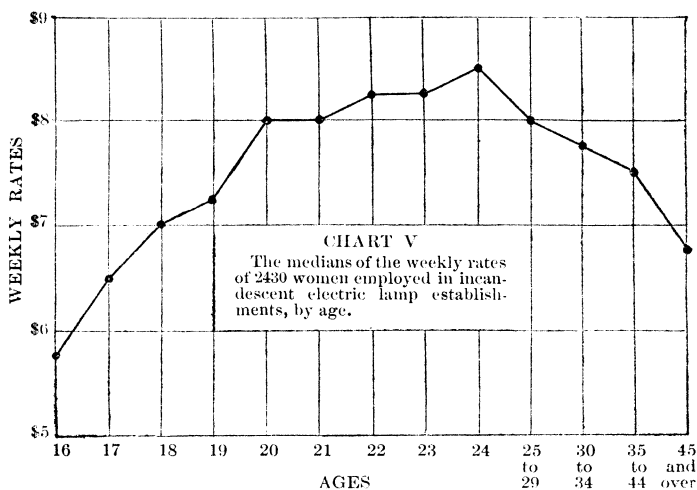


Chart V, again, shows the variation of wages, classified by age, of 2430 women employed in incandescent electric

light establishments. Ages are measured on the horizontal and median wages of the age groups on the vertical. There is a rapid rise from age 16 to age 20, a gradual rise from age 20 to age 24, and, finally, a fall from age 24 to the group, 45 and over, when the 17 year-old wage level is nearly reached. In the finishing departments of glass establishments 74.2% of the women employed are from 16 to 24 years of age and in incandescent electric light establishments 83% of women employees are in this age group. This whole analysis goes to show, then, that a very large part of the difference between the wages of men and women is due to the inefficiency and lack of skill of women, which in turn are due to the inexperience of younger age and shorter working life.

A further effect of woman's short stay in industry is that she tends to monopolize the unskilled trades. The three volumes of the Labor Bureau *Report* give much evidence to support the theory that men and women tend to form non-competing groups. This, of course, tends to put the two sexes into separate labor markets, and to cause their wages to be fixed by the different conditions surrounding the two markets. Woman's lower standard of life, lack of organization, and more limited field of employment, are some of the conditions which make her labor market an unfavorable one for her. These elements are, in my opinion, of less influence in most fields of employment in causing woman's low wages than her lack of technical skill.

There is not space here to summarize the working conditions that call for factory legislation. I may call attention, however, to one striking fact observed that calls both for state regulation and education of the employees. In 38 of the 46 cotton mills visited in New England and in 145 of the 152 mills visited in the South, in an industry where tuberculosis is especially common, it was reported to be customary to spit on the floor. In only one state, Massachusetts, is there a law against spitting on the floors of a manufacturing establishment and the law in this state is not enforced.

Miss Busbey shows clearly in *The Women's Trade Union*

Movement in Great Britain that woman's weakness in unions is the result of her short working life, inefficiency, submissiveness, and low wages. "It is in the low wages of women workers that the chief difficulty of effective organization lies. The trade union leaders, therefore, have to cope with the apparently paradoxical situation of women being frequently poorly paid because they are not organized, and protective organization rendered impossible because they are too poorly paid to afford even the small sum attendant upon combination" (p. 6). In 1874 the first successful attempt to organize women in Great Britain resulted in the "Women's Trade Union League." The League has not been militant and has refused to join with men in making demands upon employers. Other women's unions have been formed from time to time until the membership is now over 200,000. However, the apathy of women, the inclination to underestimate their own value, and the fact that "they let the men run the unions" (p. 10) have been influences that curtail the value of women's organizations. The chief results secured by the organizations of Great Britain are the education of women concerning their rights under the British Workman's Compensation Act, the agitation for labor legislation, the crusade against the living-in and truck systems, and the protection secured against unjust fines by employers. At present the women's trade union leaders are endeavoring "to accomplish the extension of the board of arbitration prerogative to an authoritative institution for legal decision in wage disputes and the establishment by law of a minimum wage in the different trades" (p. 44).

Miss Busbey's study leads her to conclude that "the women's trade union movement in Great Britain is in an immature stage of development or it may be nearly transitional, but its development has not been arrested" (p. 50). "Women's trade unions, then, would not seem to have demonstrated a high efficiency in a widespread elevation of wages, but as a factor in maintaining a once-established standard of wage the women's trade union movement gives undeniable evidence" (p. 49).

The policy of women trade unionists in Great Britain has been, and is, to secure better labor conditions through protective legislation rather than by means of direct demand on employers enforced by strikes.

The various articles in the symposium on *The Economic Position of Women* cover the historical development of women's work in the United States, various problems of women in industry, such as the training and education of women, the industrial work of married women, the economics of "equal pay for equal work" in the schools of New York City, and the betterment of the conditions of employment through social action. Mr. H. R. Mussey in his introduction holds the theory that "such a large proportion of [working women] are mere 'pin-money girls' that there is no minimum standard of wages, such as is furnished for men by the necessary cost of maintaining a family" and that "the wages of all women, self-dependent or not, tend to be fixed on the assumption that they will live parasitically on their relatives." The evidence already quoted from the books which are the subject of this review warrants Miss MacLean's characterization of this theory as "vicious and unsupported."¹ As to the reason why women receive so small a wage Mr. Mussey is not even consistent with himself. He says, "uninterested, untrained, unskilled, they are on a low level of efficiency, and they have little motive for climbing to a higher level. Small wonder that they crowd the unskilled labor market, and that their work commands a mere pittance" (p. 5). However, on page 7, he concludes that "women are paid less than men primarily because they will take less, not because their work is worth less or because they need less; and public opinion acquiesces without protest."

Miss Sumner, in her article on the *Historical Development of Women's Work*, holds that "the greatest economic success of women wage earners in manufacturing industries has been attained in occupations in which they have competed directly with men" (p. 16). She mentions woman printers

¹ Wage-Earning Women, p. 177.

and cigar-makers as illustrations. The available data show that neither of these illustrations is well chosen. Miss Butler says, "Analysis shows that in only a few cases are women permanent active competitors with men for identical work, within the limits of their working life. I found this true in Pittsburgh among press feeders and compositors in printing offices. . . ." ¹ Miss Abbott found that altho women are received into printers' unions on the same terms as men, for a woman "to join the union and demand the same rate of wages is to invite discharge." ¹ The Dewey Report gives the median wage for men printers in 1900 as \$16 and that for women as \$5 weekly. Cigar-making is the other industry cited by Miss Sumner as one in which women derive an advantage by competing directly with men. The wage data of the Dewey Report do not show this advantage, as women receive only 40% of the wages paid to men in the same occupations of packing and rolling cigars. Miss Sumner's generalization, therefore, is not supported by the facts.

Three writers among the contributors to the symposium call attention to the inherent character of woman's industrial handicap. Miss Emily Greene Balch holds that "we cannot make women efficient in any complete sense under circumstances which so militate against their efficiency . . ." (p. 71). The "circumstances" referred to are the short industrial life of women necessitated by marriage and child-bearing. Miss Florence Kelly is impressed by the social evils which result from the industrial employment of married women. "Whether the wage-earning mother leaves home, or brings her work into the home, her children pay the penalty" (p. 9). Finally, Miss Alice Henry shows the difficulty of making women's unions effective because, "Seven years is the average duration of women's wage-earning life. The average woman unionist is a mere girl."

John Martin, of the New York Board of Education, has an interesting paper on *The Economics of "Equal Pay for*

¹ Women and the Trades, p. 344.

² Women in Industry, p. 261.

Equal Work " in the Schools of New York City. He shows that the motto of the Interborough Association of Women Teachers, "Equal pay for equal work," is a doctrinaire slogan to which the women teachers themselves do not adhere. For instance, the salary schedule advocated by the Interborough Association provides that "any position between the kindergarten and the seventh grade may be filled by teachers with salaries varying from \$720 to \$1515" (p. 103). Mr. Martin holds that "Salaries are settled by the pragmatic method" and that the chief of the many elements to be taken into account are: "1. A living wage. 2. Years of experience or age. 3. Length and quality of preparation for the work. 4. Responsibility of the duty performed. 5. Total demand upon the taxpayer which the schedules entail and willingness of the taxpayers to meet the demand. 6. Adjustment over a long period of the supply of teachers to the demand" (p. 99). Mr. Martin shows clearly that if men teachers are to be retained in the schools their salaries must be higher than it is possible to pay women. He says, "For reasons over which the educational authorities have no control men teachers of as high a personal quality as women teachers cannot, over a long period, be secured and held for the same pay" (p. 101). The argument of Mr. Martin that salaries cannot be determined by reference to an abstract doctrine like "Equal pay for equal work" is convincing.

In conclusion, Miss Abbott gives us an authoritative historical study in *Women in Industry*; Miss Butler and Miss MacLean give us excellent pictures of the present conditions surrounding working women; and the Labor Bureau *Report* gives the most complete data available on the important questions of women's wages and the general conditions of work in important industries.

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